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were entertained by it, forgetting all about Sly in their enjoyment of the inimitable farce to follow. Hence, for all practical purposes the rogue had served his usefulness, in that he had given a novel setting to a good play. In short, the Induction had furnished a farcical atmosphere for a farcical story. The way to the dramatist was then left open to write a farce that has proved to be his masterpiece, in which he was to obtain a totality of effect that the tinker's presence would make impossible; a farce, the technique of which equals the master's best achievements in comedy and tragedy.³²

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NATURE IN EARLIER ITALIAN

The allegorical figure Nature did not play so conspicuous a part in early Italian literature as it did in other literatures, though it appeared more strikingly than in early German. In a previous article¹ I have shown how the figure arose among Greek writers under the name *Physis* both as a personification and as a personage more or less divine associated with the creation of life in the world. After its establishment in the encyclopedic or scientific pre-Socratics, it assumed its greatest and most permanent significance as an agent of God, through the influence of the Platonic dialogue *Timaeus*. Thus, often with moral application, it was repeatedly employed by Latin authors of the classical and medieval periods, as by Seneca, a representative of Stoic, by Statius, a poet of epic situations, by Claudianus, composer of satires and panegyrics of an allegorical sort, and by the Latin humanists and allegorical poets of the twelfth century. The chief among these last, so far as effect on Italian literature goes, was Alan of Lille, whose works *Anticlaudianus* and *De Planctu Naturae* exerted a tremendous influence on medieval allegory. And in the thirteenth century came the more purely encyclopedic and philosophic studies of Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas.

³² It is true of course that Sly is not disillusioned (cf. Freeman, *Disguise Plots in Eliz. Drama*, 1915, 10). But the same charge can be brought, for example, against Molière in *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*.

¹ "Nature in Earlier Periods," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, xix.

Upon such writers are dependent the chief Italian employers of the figure, Brunetto Latini (1230?-1294) and Dante Alighieri.

The first principal use of Nature in early Italian vernacular² and the only great example of it was that by Brunetto Latini in his allegorical didactic poem, *Il Tesoretto*.³ In one sense it is a pocket-abstract of the extensive prose encyclopedia which he wrote in French, *Li Livres dou Tresor*;⁴ but it is more literary in aim.⁵

The author represented himself as traveling in the valley of Roncesvalles. There he met a student from Bologna, and learned from him that the Guelphs had been driven from Florence. The news caused him to reflect with sorrow upon the new circumstances, and to turn to nature as a refuge. Upon coming to himself, he saw a mountain with a great crowd of different creatures, including men, animals, plants, stones, beyond the power to name. In growth and in death these objects obeyed a figure that touched the sky so that it became her veil, sometimes fair, sometimes stormy. At her command the firmament moved and expanded so that the world appeared to be in her arms. Now she smiled and now she grieved. Observing her power, he decided to approach her reverently and to get information from her. Thus he saw how beautiful were her hair, forehead, eyes, and so on—a description typical of those of women at the time. (The changeableness of her appearance was suggested in Alan's *De Planctu*, and the veil—though the symbolism is natural enough for any one of imagination—in Walter of Châtillon as well.) Like Jean de Meun in the *Roman de la Rose*, Brunetto realized that he was unable to describe her competently; but unlike him he attempted to do so. As in *De Planctu* and the *Roman de la Rose*, and indeed the English moralities, Nature explained herself. She similarly declared herself to be vicar under God, the omnipotent and omniscient. Her creatures are not eternal. Then Nature began a didactic discussion of the four modes at the beginning of everything, the six days of creation, the virgin birth of Christ, and his vicarious death for man. Followed a more detailed analysis of the days. It seemed to Brunetto

² See the article previously referred to for a consideration of the use of Nature in the Latin works of Italian writers of the general period, for instance, Henry of Milan, Henry of Settimello, Thomas Aquinas, Petrarch, and Boccaccio.

³ Ed. C. B. Zannoni, Firenze, 1824; also Strassburg, 1909. A critical text is in *Zeit. f. roman. Philol.*, vii, 336 ff., by B. Wiese. See N. H. Dole, *A Teacher of Dante*, New York, 1908.

⁴ Ed. P. Chabaille, Paris, 1863.

⁵ Cf. T. Sundby, *Della Vita e Delle Opere di Brunetto Latini*, translated from the Danish by R. Renier, Firenze, 1884, pp. 158 ff.

he saw all things come to Nature to ask permission to complete their labor. Therefore he desired to learn from her the truth. She explained to him God's creation of angelic substance, the actions of Lucifer, and the beginning of time from the fall of Adam. Yet, she declared, in the end God wishes that all effort or trial should result well. Man is the height of his work, superior to the other animals. Then she proceeded with an encyclopedic exposition of the universe. Finally the poet had to depart, and needed directions for his journey. Nature gave them with grace and love. She told him how to go safely and whom to meet, Philosophy and her sisters. He would hear of the four Virtues; he might encounter Fortune and even Barter. If he should be fearless, he would see the God of Love and many people in bliss and woe. Then Brunetto kissed her feet and departed. After a hunt, he came upon Virtue and her four daughters and advanced to their several courts, where he received further instructions. Upon resuming his way, he met the God of sensual Love with the four attendant passions. Though he succumbed to their influence, he finally resolved to turn to spiritual love.

The theme is plainly of the same sort as that dwelt upon in the works of Alan of Lille and in *Archithrenius* by Jean de Hauteville. We find the combination of learning with the desire for experience in life. Among the distractions from the occupations of a student is love. Brunetto, like his predecessors, distinguishes between two kinds of love, the higher and the lower, and advocates the former, in harmony with the teachings of Nature, the vicar of God. With this view of love, one may compare not only the medieval theory of courtly love and Dante's conceptions, but those of the Platonists of the Renaissance, such as Marsilio Ficino in Italy, the Pléiade and its precursors in France, and Spenser in England. Man should act in accordance with the laws of Nature,—a Stoic teaching. The doctrine is like that of Jean de Meun,⁹ the greatest of the followers of Alan and a younger contemporary of Brunetto's. But the treatment is not satirical; Nature is wholly a dignified character. And the doctrine of procreation is not so strongly enforced.

Of a different purpose and sort is Brunetto's purely encyclopedic *Li Livres dou Tresor*, but again one finds reminiscences of Alan's *De Planctu*, as in a passage in which she is called vicar of her true father and is distinguished from God at length (p. 13, i, i, viii),

⁹ Nature in Old French will be considered in *Modern Philology*.

and again picturesquely (p. 104, i, ii, c). Brunetto explained the relation by more philosophic definition, following Aristotle.⁷ In the discussion of "mesure" occurs the Stoic principle that ended *Archithrenius*, "nus ne doit aler contre nature."⁸ Nature wanted man to live purely, honorably. These portions of the encyclopedia serve as an illustrative commentary on his own poem. But there is nothing new in the philosophic conception; the sole novelty in his use of Nature lies in two allegorical situations,—one at the beginning of *Il Tesoretto*, the other in her dismissal of the poet. Nature came to comfort him in his grief over the political affairs of his city and outlined for him a course of conduct for the future—a study of morals and a living through worldly experience to the attainment of a goal of virtue.

Brunetto's pupil Dante often employed *natura* for literary purposes and in philosophic senses such as we have investigated. A fairly complete list may be readily obtained from the concordances.⁹ A discussion of Dante's use occurs in Kuhn's chapter, "Dante's Conception of Nature."¹⁰ In general, Dante followed Aristotle and Aquinas, but he employed of course the conventional personifications, as when Nature makes a beautiful woman.¹¹ To his mind, Nature's purposes and activities are regular and good;¹² any departure in the course of events is due to the influence of Fortuna or of God himself.¹³ Among her works Nature feels most affection for man.¹⁴ She gives him love,¹⁵ disposition for

⁷ Pp. 148-9.

⁸ Pp. 374-8.

⁹ *Concordanza delle Opere Italiane in prosa e del Canzoniere di Dante Alighieri*, E. S. Sheldon and A. C. White, Oxford, 1905; *Dantis Alagherii Operum Latinorum Concordantiae*, E. K. Rand and E. H. Wilkins (with A. C. White), Oxford, 1912; *Concordance of the Divina Commedia*, E. A. Fay, Cambridge, Mass., 1888; *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, G. A. Scartazzini, Milano, 1898-9, II, article on "natura."

¹⁰ L. O. Kuhns, *The Treatment of Nature in Dante's 'Divina Commedia'*, New York, 1897, ch. I. Accordingly I make my discussion briefer.

¹¹ *Vita Nuova*, canzone I; cf. sonetto 10; also other creations, *Inferno*, xxxi, 49 ff. Cf. with art, *Par.* xxvii, 91.

¹² Cf. *Par.*, I, 104 ff.; the discussion of Natura's providence for man in *De Monarchia*, II, 7; cf. *Mon.*, I, iii, 22; "Deus et natura nil otiosum facit"; *Convivio*, IV, xxiv, 106, 113; *Inf.*, XI, 56, xxxi, 49.

¹³ *Par.*, VIII, 133-44.

¹⁴ *Conv.*, II, ix.

¹⁵ *Inf.*, XI, 56, 61-2.

pleasure, and hope of immortality.¹⁶ Nevertheless man is sometimes evil and then acts against Nature.¹⁷

The power of Nature is limited; it ceases at Purgatory, so that we have the same impression of Nature's aloofness from God that we have from the *Anticlaudianus* of Alan and *De Mundi Universitate* of Bernardus Silvester. The agent works at a distance from her superior. The influence of the stars and other forces interferes somewhat with her processes, as was indeed to be inferred from *De Mundi Universitate*, where the human soul, coming from a region not under Nature's control, is instructed in matters in the province of Urania rather than in that of Nature. Nature is indeed not God;¹⁸ without the use of the word itself, the distinction appears in *Paradiso*, vii, 124 ff.

Dante cannot be said to have added to the tradition of Nature in personification or allegory. He afforded no important allegorical passage in which she occupies a part, and he exerted no influence in favor of such treatment. His uses are mostly grammatical or philosophical, close to those of Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas. In fact, for the present discussion he is much less significant than Brunetto Latini.

In Brunetto Latini and Dante are comprised the chief uses of Nature in Italian vernacular up to about 1500. There was a fair sprinkling of the uses made by the French, such as the formation of a beautiful woman, the bestowal of natural and intellectual gifts upon man, the contrast with Fortune, the association with Art, and the coöperation with God.¹⁹ On the whole, however, such

¹⁶ *Conv.*, II, ix, 96-7. Cf. the Middle English poem, *Death and Life*.

¹⁷ *Inf.*, XI, 48, 110.

¹⁸ She is under His intellect and art: *Inf.*, XI, 99-100; see *Mon.*, I, iii, 18; II, ii, 37; cf. *Conv.*, III, 4, 98; *Mon.*, I, x, 4; I, xiv, 12, 13; II, ii, 116; *Epistola*, VI, 47; *Quaest. de aqua et terra*, 13, 19; *Inf.*, XI, 99. Cf. *Par.*, VIII.

¹⁹ Instances are *Sonetti di Antonio da Pistoia*, ed. R. Renier, Torino, 1888, 176, 3. *Il Morgante Maggiore di L. Pulci*, Canto II, vii, 2; XVIII, cxliii, 8, cxliii, 4; XIX, clxxiv, 5; XX, xxiii, 8; XXII, cxxxvi, 2. *Canzoniere di Pietro Jacopo de Jennaro*, ed. G. Barone, Napoli, 1883, 68, 3; 99, 14; 113, 2. *Opere di J. Sannazaro*, Padova, 1723, pp. 406, 425. *Rime di Matteo di Dino Frescobaldi*, ed. G. Carducci, 1866, I, p. 21. *Cantici del beato Jacopone da Todi*, Napoli, 1615, cii, p. 269. *Rime di Fra Guittone d'Arezzo*, Firenze, 1828, 2 vols., II, cxlvi, 1. 11. *Sonetti di Cecco Angiolieri*, ed. A. F. Massera, Bologna, 1906, xv, 6. *Poesie di Cino da Pistoia*, Pistoia, 1826 (or 1813?), ed. S. Ciampi, II, canz. xv, p. 140; canz. xxiii, p. 213. *Il*

emphasis or slightly allegorical play did not mark Italian verse. The nature of the Italian lyric and romance may have been averse to such a conventionality if not to others.

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THE DATE OF ANTONIO DE VILLEGAS' DEATH

Most histories of Spanish literature give no date for the death of Antonio de Villegas, the author of the *Inventario*, and there is, I believe, no documentary evidence of a biographical nature concerning him aside from that contained between the covers of the two editions of the *Inventario* (Medina del Campo, 1565, 1577). Professors J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly and E. Mérimée in their histories of Spanish literature give the date of Villegas' death as 1551. The only reason which justifies this date is based on the *petición de privilegio* of the 1565 edition of the *Inventario*, where the statement is made that in 1551 Villegas had obtained a *licencia* to publish the book, that the *licencia* had been allowed to lapse, and that a new one was being requested.¹ Since one would scarcely go to

Pecorone di Giovanni Fiorentino, Milano, 1804, I, p. 2. *Opere di Girolamo Benivieni*, Venetia, 1522, p. 185. *Sonetti del Burchiello*, Londra, 1751, I, 77, iii, 157. *Il Quadriregio di F. Frezzi*, Foligno, 1725, I, pp. 187, 200, 234, 235, 244-5, 249, 340. *Opere di Lorenzo de' Medici*, ed. A. Simioni, Bari, 1913, 2 vols., *Comento di Lorenzo de' Medici sopra alcuni de' suoi sonetti*, I, 58; XLII, l. 10 (giving); canz. VI, p. 202; LXXVI, p. 213; *Altercazione*, cap. III, IV. *Rime di Benedetto Gareth detto Il Charited*, ed. E. Percopo, Napoli, 1892, II, 422. For Petrarch, see *Concordanza delle Rime di Francesco Petrarca*, K. McKenzie, Oxford and New Haven, 1912. *Canzoni di Antonio degli Alberti*, ed. S. Andreis, Rovereto, 1865, II, p. 17; III, p. 21. *The Poetry of Giacomo da Lentino*, ed. E. F. Langley, Cambridge, Mass., 1915, canz. XVIII, l. 3. *Opere Volgari di L. B. Alberti*, ed. A. Bonucci, Firenze, 1843, I, pp. clxxxii, ccxi. *Orlando Innamorato di Boiardo*, ed. A. Panizzi, London, 1830, 5 vols., I, Lib. I, iii, stanza 37, p. 50; Lib. I, xviii, stanza 6; cf. edit. F. Pöffano, Bologna, 1906; *Le Poesie Volgari e Latine di Boiardo*, ed. A. Solerti, *Amores*, XIV, 1, XIX, 5, XXVI, 9, XXXI, 2, LIV, 2, CLVI, 6, CLXIII, 3, *Pastorale*, VIII, 116, IX, 32.

¹ The *petición de privilegio* of the first edition of the *Inventario* (1565) reads as follows: "C. R. M. Antonio de Villegas dice, que el compuso un libro de ciertas obras en metro Castellano intitulado, Inventario de Antonio de Villegas. Y habiendo suplicado el año de cincuenta y uno, se le